114 As Vatter[1] says, there are taboos of a totemic
784 sort. Ama Hurint has a taboo on a kind of
614 vegetable. Others are as given by Vatter. Vatter has a real error, however, in that there are only five suku, not six, because Marang is within Kottang.

582 Marriage with one's father's sister's sister
835 [father's sister's daughter?] is taboo, as are
177 marriages between parallel cousins. Mother's brother's daughter marriages are preferred, and this occurs regularly. It was interesting to note that the mother's brother's daughter marriage is considered taboo in Catholic communities. This was admitted, and no longer do Catholics
836] here marry their real mother's brother's daughter unless the girl has become pregnant (this is evidently a fairly common occurrence, as it is mentioned freely). However, because of the classificatory system, it is possible to marry a mother's brother's daughter relative through the grandparents. Such a relative must be at least a fourth grade cousin to suit the Catholics. Thus they manage to maintain the old system and suit the Catholic demand.

601 Kinship terms are as follows:

father:	bapa
father's brother:	bosu
father's sister:	nona, kaka (male speaking); nona kaka, tia (female speaking) (Tia means mother-in-law)
father's brother's son:	kaka aring (male speaking); na'a (female speaking)
father's brother's daughter:	bine (male speaking); kaka aring (female speaking)

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

582 be straight exchange. They must have one inter-
583 mediate move because of the mother's brother's
614 daughter marriage. He sees this clearly, and says that if one could marry a father's sister's daughter they could have a straight exchange. He says that they do this in Tandjung Bunga. Vatter[1] says this is not so. If they do not want to give the tusks or they do not have them, they can work out the bride price in a deal with two other sib groupings so that A will give a girl to B, B a girl to C, and C a girl to A. Thus no tusks are needed, but they act as though the tusks had actually made the rounds. It is all done in their heads. They must plan this, as not every combination will bring the exchange back to the original sib grouping in three moves. Of course, a more complicated deal can be made with many moves leading the fictitious tusks around and a girl back to the group that starts the whole thing.

836 The premarital sex relations with the arrange-
583 ment that leads to marriage which Vatter[1] calls penara is properly called penaga(ng). The guru prefers to call it bride-service, but it is not so according to Vatter[1].

The guru says there are three kinds of marriage here: capture, service (or premarital sex relations leading to marriage), and payment. He calls the last the respectable type. It requires tusks, either real or according to bookkeeping.

192 Vatter[1] makes a bad error on page 83. Kelen
114 does not mean "heaven," but only foot. The word for heaven, on which he was confused, is klng, with almost no vowels.

782 Prayer is not carried out by the Marang. The
788 word marang means to pray, and this has led to
614 the confusion that the ritual prayers at the animal killing were always done by the Suku Marang. The latter merely hands the betel around. The oldest man who is an expert, from whatever

[1][See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

War

582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [578] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e. the assistant --Analyst]

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584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no
584 adat rite of marriage. What happened in the
836 old days and what still goes on among the
178 pagans is simply that one day, when everything
178 is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even
595 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old
178 days this was more frequent, but even now there
183 are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
721 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
128 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
627 hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

War.

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were willing to hear a request, but it had to be done through regular channels without chiseling. ("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If either is older it is better for a boy to be a bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a discrepancy in age, it is not good.

595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad, even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me that other Christians do this. It is simply that they do not get the sacramen for the second, or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dispensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wai-
513 lolong slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
[346] sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
[614] but to the cult houses).A I think he said that this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was not required, but they just did it. This took place after a boy reached the age of about sixteen. Roy did it himself. They liked this because it was more fun. They could talk, sing, discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically a rule, and I wonder what they would have said if a boy did not go there.)

What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
178 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
513 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
882 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
171 in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

A [See cat. 111, p. 166 -- Ans 4 s]

513 We
882 Ambon and Ceram youth-club houses are really
178 survivals of the regular thing.) In Leloba the
[171] main hangout is the "pasanggrahan" (bivak),
where there are seldom any guests, and the boys
simply take over. Kattenburg inspected it and
found that it has sleeping benches and even a
● [83] few walled compartments. He asked the kepala
kampong if perhaps the girls did not slip in,
and the kepala kampong said that this was abso-
lutely not the case.

178 In Wailolong there is a guru from Bama,
513 where they have regular boy's houses. This
882 fellow has introduced a new type of boy's house
177 in Wailolong (but no other kampong in this area
64 has one), i.e., he has built three on the Bama
pattern and the boys sleep there. One of these
is our "office" when we use it. These boys'
houses are arranged according to suku, and are
shared by suku. This is a remarkable case of
acculturation within a pattern from one district
to another.

[562] The girls have no such houses, and never did.
882 However, before, as today, they seldom sleep
561 with their parents when they get older. Groups
887 of them have hangouts where they sleep together.
513 These groups are of friends. They weave to-
gether, etc., and like to gossip, sing, etc.,
at night. They just fall asleep there, together.
This may be a sleeping bench, or it may be that
they get a section of a sleeping bench in one
of their parents' houses. There they bunch up.
Everyone knows where the groups hang out.
Kattenburg found that even old women sleep in
groups. They may be, I think, groups of "the
girls" who are old and widows, and who go back
to their girlhood days and sleep with their
coevals, and have a good time. If this is so,
it is practically a revived age-grade for the
girls who in their youth grew up and slept to-
gether and now at the end of their life bunch
up together again.

War

581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speaking. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would
836

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836 be very angry, and I think he said that he might kill her. As for the men, he says that the situation may be different, as there were easy women in the kampong, that is, for example, widows whom a boy might get. Thus, it seems that unlike remote Wailolong and Leloba, the boys tended to get some sex experience premaritally, but the girls were regularly virgins until marriage. The same situation exists today, he says. I guess there is little doubt that this is outside the free premarital belt.

582 178 Probably as astonishing a thing as I have seen in regard to marriage here is the younger age which they say now prevails everywhere. They are sure of this, and indeed they shout it out. This is a real and deep change.

124 123 181 Today the old mother of the kapitan sat with us, and had our questions translated for her. Also, there was a decent old lad there. He understood Malay and seemed to speak it too. He was middle-aged. There was the usual impolite talking while I tried to talk, and looking at the clock, even ringing the alarm at noon. And the secretary is as bad as the others. Then at the end, after I had heard enough in Endenese to know that they had been talking of it all the way through, the kapitan comes up to me and asks me to get a tanda mata (souvenir) for him too, that is, a briefcase. I said I would try to get one in Batavia as there was no place to get a good one here, but they have evidently talked that over and do not trust me, as he said, "Why not get one in the toko here and give it to me?" Then the secretary said on the way out that a good one for the kapitan would be the kind of zipper bag I carry. They are impolite, and so stupid that they think they can delude me. They have no shame, and they are crafty. They constantly pass around my cigarette case, obviously considering whether they might ask for one of those too.

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581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 [848] They insist that there is not one case of a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177 797 595 587 582 In the family the Catholics have tried to stop (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2) levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3) mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 753 [565] In regard to the nobility, I can get no reaction on ideas of magic power, and they say that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larantuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

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584 178 whom they like. They always used and still use intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 276 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

●836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If [848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]